NOTES ON NEW BOOKS L'ANGIEN REGIME ET LA REVOLUTION. Par ALEXIS DE

Tocqueville, de l'Académie Française. Deuxième edition. Paris: Michel Levy Frères. 1856. If we have long delayed to direct the attentio of our readers to this latest production of M. DE Tocqueville, it has only been because we laid it aside for a more careful perusal than we could find aside for a more careful perusal time to give it immediately on its first appearance in France. Whatever proceeds from the philoso-phical pen of this distinguished publicist and states-man (for a statesman he is in the truest sense of the term) deserves something more than that fugitive reading which, in this day of multitudinous issues from the groaning press, is the most that can be awarded to much the larger portion of what it was once fashionable to call the "literature of the times." And M. DE TOCQUEVILLE has a special claim upon the respectful attention and regard of American readers; his great work on the present attitude and inherent tendencies of "Democracy in America" having shown him to be a critic of our

institutions no less candid than profound in the fine

analysis to which he subjected them during his tour

of personal observation in this country, now many years ago, and since which time the progress of po-litical development among us has confirmed the sagacity of his judgment by converting many of his auguries into accomplished facts. The present work does not profess to tell the story of the French Revolution. It undertakes to perform a much more difficult and, for the ends of philosophical history, a much more useful task, by seeking rather to penetrate and disclose the very heart of the ancien regime, which contained, as in an envelope, the influencing agencies which gave to that great event its peculiar character, and have init with such disastrous lustre. And we hanothing in saying that he who remains ignoof the important facts and conclusions con ed in M. de Tocqueville's treatise, and which ever lack some of the most weighty elements for the formation of a correct judgment in the mat-ter both of the causes and effects of that far-resounding cataclysm. Here, for the first time will be found an exposition (the result of wide ori ginal research as well as remarkable sagacity) of the moral, social, and political antecedents and con-

sequents of a civil convulsion which, though gathering blackness at the same time throughou nearly the whole of Europe, first burst forth in France with all its fury, where indeed it was the natural offspring of the very society it was destined to destroy; but in destroying which it left in full force and efficacy many of the odious institutes that gave it birth It is this latter branch of the inquiry which has evidently afforded the writer his strongest incentive to the composition of the present work. Standing

as he does at the head of that small but intrepid band of French Constitutionalists in whom no adversity seems to quench the ardor of their devotion to civil liberty, and whose faith in its final acceptance by France seems quite equal, in its firmness and simplicity, to that by which the "elders" of biblical celebrity have "obtained a good report," M. de Tocqueville, so far from groping among the ruins of the past with a musty enthusiasm which bespeaks the antiquary, has rather turned his invesigations to the illustration of facts and principles which are even now incarnated in the very body and organism of Imperial France under his Majesty Napoleon III. Indeed, at a time when it has been so common for prints like La Presse and La Patrie to receive the censorial avertissement for their hardihood in presuming to criticise the measures or policy of the Emperor, we have been not a little surprised to find that a publishing house in Paris has not scrupled to put its imprint to a volume which certainly contains more of direct and covert assault upon the maxims of the established régime in France than has ever been adventured by the most lishment of the Napoleonic dynasty. His Imperial Majesty evidently stands more in awe of the newspaper than of the philosophical treatise, and there-fore allows the academician to indulge in a freedom of animadversion which it would not be safe for the humbler journalist to imitate—a fact that sufficiently indicates which of the two, in the estimation of the Emperor, is endowed with the greater power in giving shape and direction to public opinion in

It may be proper to observe, in connexion with this statement, that M. de Tocqueville, while expressing the hope that he has written the present work without prejudice, is himself frank to admit in the outset of the book that he lays no claim to the merit of having written without feeling, (sans passion,) and adds that it could be hardly expected of a Frenchman to do so when he speaks of his country and thinks of the present time. He confesses, therefore, that in studying the anzient society of France in each of its parts he has never wholly lost sight of the modern. How true this is will appear from a few examples which we cite by

Alluding to the right of suffrage, nominally granted to the people of the towns in choosing their municipal assemblies under the ancient monarchy

"Nothing is more common in history than such speciacle. Nearly all the princes who have destroyed civil liberty have in the beginning sought to maintain its forms—a fact which is seen from the days of Augustus to our own. It is thus that they flatter themselves with the hope of adding to the moral force which is always appelled by the advantages which the hope of adding to the moral force which is supplied by the popular sanction, the advantages which absolute power alone can afford."

To the same purport is the following:

"When we compare these vain semblances of liberty [under the ancien regime] with the real impotence that attached to them, we discover thus early, and on a small scale, how a Government the most absolute can be combined with some of the forms of the most extreme democracy in such a way that to the injury of oppression is added the ridicals of account.

in such a way that to the injury of oppression is added the ridicule of seeming not to see it."

"Under the old monarchy, as at the present time, there was not a town, burgh, village, or hamlet, however small, in France, not a hospital, manufactory, convent, or college, which could exercise an independent will in the management of its private affairs, or administer according to its judgment its own peculiar property. Then, as now, the Government held all Frenchmen in ward, and, if the insolence of that term was not yet forthcoming, the thing itself was already at hand."

In commenting on the official privilege which the ancient monarchy claimed for its subordinate functionaries, M. de Tocqueville does not hesitate to say hat the evils of such irresponsibility in Govern-ment agents still survive in full force:

"The only essential difference between the two epochs is this: before the revolution the Government could shield its agents only by a recourse to illegal and arbitrary measures, while since that time it has been legally empowered to let them violate the laws."

Who does not see the sardonic smile directed at the Moniteur in the subjoined pregnant comment?

"The effort [to create an interesting newspaper from the official reports of the intendants spread throughout the departments] seems to have met with small success, for we soon learn from a ministerial missive that 'the King, who himself has the goodness sometimes to descend to the detail of measures deemed best to perfect the gazette, and who desires to give this journal the superiority and celebrity it deserves, has evinced much dissatisfaction at seeing his views so imperfectly fulfilled.' It will be seen that history is a gallery of paintings, where there are few originals, but plenty of copies."

The dispensation of official patronage under the ancient monarchy is thus advantageously contrasted with the usages of the present administration: "The Government of that day did not dispose of the

infinite quantity of favors, charities, honors, and emolu-ments which it has the power of distributing at the present time. It had less of the means as well of sede

Is there no covert allusion to the present Gov-ernment in the stinging contrast drawn by M. de Tocqueville between the loyalty which was proudly rendered by the subjects of the ancien régime and that submission which, as seen at a later day, acthat submission which, as seen at a later day, ac-cepts each de facto Government only as a pis aller, or a power which it would not be safe to contest?

"We must be on our guard," he says, "against estimating the pusillanimity of men by the degree of their submission to the sovereign authority. Submissive as were the men of the old régime to the will of the King, there was a species of obedience to which they were strangers. They did not know what it was to crook the knee before illegitimate or disputed power, which is but little honored, is often despised, but which is submitted to velunta-

awaken, and which have become well-nigh incompressible to us, so completely has the revolution extirg in our hearts the root from which they sprang. in our hearts the root from which they sprang. For him they cherished at the same time the tenderness which one feels for a father with the respect which is due only to God. In submitting to his commands, even the most arbitrary, they yielded less to constraint than to love; and thus it came to pass that they preserved the soul free in the midst of a dependence the most extreme. For them the greatest evil of obedience was compulsion; for us it is the least. Let us not, then, despise our fathers; we have no right to do so. God grant that we may recover, with their prejudices and their faults, some small measure of their grandeur."

We have made these citations from M. de Tocque ville's work for a double purpose—because they illustrate not only the free spirit in which it is written, but serve also at the same time to indicate the grea entral fact which, apart from these political innuendoes, it aims to establish. That fact may be condensed into the general statement that very many of the thoughts, sentiments, ideas, principles, and habitudes of France, which have been heretofore considered the peculiar offspring of the Revolution, eally plant their roots in the ancient monarchy assumed that the France of the ancien regime is much more like the France of the present day than is commonly supposed. In a word, though the French, by the Revolution of 1789, sought to fix a great gulph between their present and their past, they succeeded much less in that attempt than they intended, and much less than is generally believed, as well by themselves as by others. M. de Tocqueville describes himself as more and more surprised by the traces of this fact in proportion to the pro-gress he made in unrolling the documents which contain the story of the fallen dynasty and ancient society of France. Making his researches in a quarter heretofore neglected, he has been rewarded or his patience and sagacity by the discovery of historic truths which are as important in point of fact as they are novel and striking in the concluons to which they lead. The sources upon which he has drawn in the preparation of the present trea-tise, and which have proved so fertile of valuable esults to the cause of history, are thus stated in the preface of the volume:

"I have undertaken to reach the core of this state o society under the old monarchy of France, which is still so near us in the lapse of years, but concealed from us

For this purpose I have not only read over again the celebrated books which the eighteenth century produced; I have also studied a multitude of works less known and less worthy to be known, but which, from the negliand less werthy to be known, but which, from the negligence of their composition, disclose, perhaps even better than more finished productions, the real instincts of the time. I have applied myself to investigate thoroughly all the public documents by which the French may, at the approach of the Bevolution, have shown their opinions and their tastes. The regular reports of the meetings of the States, and subsequently of the Provincial Assemblies, have supplied me with a large quantity of evidence. I have especially made great use of the Instructions drawn up by the Three Orders in 1789. These Instructions, which form in original a long series of manuscript volumes, will remain as the testament of the old society of France, the supreme record of its wishes, the authentic declaration of its last intentions. Such a document is unique in history. Yet this alone has not Satisfied me.

tisfied me.
"In countries in which the administrative Govern nent is already powerful there are few opinions, desire or sorrows; there are few interests or passions which are not sooner or later stripped bare before it. In the archives of such a Government not only an exact notion of its procedure may be acquired, but the whole country is exhibited. Any stranger who should have access to is exhibited. Any stranger who should have access to all the confidential correspondence of the Home Department and the Prefectures of France would soon know more about the French than they know themselves. In the eighteenth century the administration of the country, as will be seen from this book, was highly centralized, very powerful, prodigiously active. It was incessantly aiding, preventing, permitting. It had much to promise, much to give. Its influence was already felt in a thousand ways, not only on the general conduct of in a thousand ways, not only on the general conduct of affairs, but on the condition of families and the private life of every individual. Moreover, as this administration was without publicity, men were not afraid to lay bare before its eyes even their most secret infirmities. I have spent a great deal of time in studying what re-mains of its proceedings, both at Paris and in several

"There, as I expected, I have found the whole struc ture of the old monarchy still in existence, with its opinions, its passions, its prejudices, and its usages. There thoughts. I have thus succeeded in acquiring informa-tion on the former state of society which those who lived in it did not possess, for I had before me that which had never been exposed to them."

We shall proceed briefly to reproduce a few of the results of M. de Tocqueville's respectes in the new and productive field he has been the first to open. The French Revolution has filled the world with its echo, and yet, if we may judge from the contradictory judgments which have been passed upon it, alike in its causes and effects, the real meaning of the voice in which it has spoken has never yet been satisfactorily interpreted from amid the Babel sounds that accompanied it. And under these circumstances it is that M. de Tocqueville comes to add his sagacity and patient in quiry to the lucidation of this vexed historic problem, and has sought to explain what was the real meaning, the real character, and what the permanent effects of this strange and terrible event. The question he proposed to himself was twofold—"What, precisely, has the Revolution destroyed? What has it

reated?"-and well has he answered it. The writer first undertakes to show that the in religious spirit which apparently animated the French Revolution was rather incidental to it than the primum mobile of its activity. The Church was assailed not so much as the pillar and ground of Christian truth as because it had become, in the popular mind, by reason of its proprietary rights, its spiritual lords, its tithe-collectors, and the host of its hireling retainers, little more or better than part and parcel of the "privileged sys-tem" on which the old society was based, and which the new fermentation of thought was aiming to ex-plode. The Church had become aristocratic in its constitution and in its spirit, and therefore naturally shared in-the odium that was directed against

the very idea of all aristocracy.

The French Revolution differed from all others in its expansive and diffusive spirit. It was eminently epidemic in its maxims, and, not satisfied with the establishment of Liberty in France, sought to find a lodgment for that goddess throughout the whole of Europe. And this complexion it took not only from the aggressive character of its lead-ers, but from the nature of the principles in whose name the Revolution was preached. It considered man in the abstract, and human rights in their metaphysical relations, apart from national limits or national peculiarities. And herein also it took on the form of a religious proselytism, and became in fact a new evangel—a religion of humanity, without a God, without a divine worship, and without a future life—a sort of political Mohammedanism, inundating the world with its soldiers, apostles, and martyrs, and offering every where to popular ac-ceptance either the Koran of universal liberty or the

sword of a revolutionary propagandism.

The spread of its influence was greatly accelerated by the condition of Europe at that date. During the Middle Ages the institutions and the maxima of Feudalism were prevalent throughout the conti-nent, and tended by their ecutemporaneous presence to impress a striking uni ormity on the people of that time, without regard to national distinction From the fifteenth century these institutions were smitten with decay, and as they declined the nucleus of separate nationalities began to receive a distinct form and pressure, each society and State the meanwhile retaining more or less of the institutes and principles of Feudalism, according to the progress of the great change which was gradually but surely transforming the face of Europe. In England this change was the first to be effected, though the outer of the molupress, publicity of legislative debates, the right of representation were all principles unknown to the Middle Age, but the gradual introduction of which into the civil polity of England wrought the overthrow of Feudalism, while preserving, as it were embalmed, not a few of those outer embodiments in which the spirit of feudality had once resided. England, in the sixteenth century, is already a modern nation; the rest of Europe was still sitting in the shadow of the "Dark Ages."

In France this great social and political transformation had not kent many and civil organizate administration of the king, which regulates the public administration of the whole country; a minister who directs nearly all the domestic affairs of the State; in each province a single agent who attends to the details of the system; while of secondary administrative bodies, or of bodies which can act without authority from the governing power at Paris, there are none. What is this, justly asks M. de Tocqueville, if it is not the CENTRALIZATION which we now observe in France?

Meanwhile France had become, of all Europe, the country in which there was the greatest similarity, in point of intelligence, between the nobles and the more educated of the untitled classes. The

mation had not kept pace with the progress of li-beral ideas in the thinking classes. What with the

only to abolish those political institutions and class distinctions which had survived their appointed distinctions which had survived their appointed time, and sought to substitute on their ruins a social and civil system more uniform and simple, and which should have legal equality for its base. If in this convulsive effort the people, like a Samson, blind and strong, only buried themselves in the wreck of social order, it may be but just to consider that, like the Danite Hercules, they too had been goaded to desperation by oppression greater than they could bear; for, though it is of the very nature of oppression (and herein consists its sorrow and shame) that it tends by its prevalence to incapacitate its subjects for the enjoyment of the liberty which is won by a spasmodic effort, it is no less true that there is a point where forbearance, even though it may not cease to be a virtue, yet ceases to be tolerable in the judgment of a spirited people. Social changes should be the offspring of national tendencies; but when these latter are unduly repressed ab extra, it is not wonderful that the pentup energies of a people, working ab intra, should burst the swaddling-bands in which their infant limbs were swathed, and break the leading-strings by which their infant steps were guided. This the Revolution did for France, and it remains to show why the work was accomplished amid circumstances which gave to it such a ghastly complexion and dis-

And this restiveness of the humbler and untitled

privileged orders, was quickened by the fact (which may be regarded as a historical discovery of M. de Tocqueville) that the French peasantry had be-come freeholders, and that the landed property of France had been minutely subdivided in their hands many years prior to the Revolution. It has been commonly supposed that these were consequences of the Revolution, but M. de Tocqueville shows conclusively that they were its antecedents, and deserve a prominent place in the enumeration of its causes. The Revolution did not greatly add to the number of the landed proprietors of France, as is proved by a comparison of the tax returns under the law of 1790 with the rolls of the present holders. The petty and vexatious levies of the nobility, under this state of things, came home directly to the business and bosoms of the peasantry, and what those levies were, in kind and degree, may be gathered from the following remarks of M. de Tocqueville:

classes, under the ungrateful domination of the

"Picture to yourself a French peasant of the eigh teenth century, or, I might rather say, the peasant now before your eyes, for the man is the same; his condi-tion is altered, but not his character. Take him as he is described in the documents I have quoted, so passion ately enamored of the soil that he will spend all his say ings to purchase it, and to purchase it at any price. To complete this purchase he must first pay a tax, not to the Government, but to other land-owners of the neighborhood, as unconnected as himself with the administration of public affairs, and hardly more influential than he is. He possesses it at last; his heart is buried in it, with the seed he sows. This little nook of ground, which is his own in this vast universe, fills him with pride and independence. But, again, these neighbors call him from house of these same men. A portion of the income of his little property is paid away in quit-rents to them

"Whatever he does, these troublesome neighbors are every where on his path, to disturb his happiness, to inmit his labor, to consume his profits; and with mose are dismissed others in the black garb of the Church present themselves to carry off the clearest profit of his harvest. Picture to yourself the condition, the wants, the character, the passions of this man, and compute, if you are able, the stores of hatred and of envy which are accumulated in his heart.

"Feudalism still remained the greatest of all the civil institutions of France, though it had ceased to be a political institution. Reduced to these proportions, the hatred it excited was greater than ever; and it may be said with truth that the destruction of a part of the institutions of the middle ages rendered a hundred times more odious that portion which still survived."

nore odious that portion which still survived."

It is common to suppose that the principle of centralization which has consolidated all civil power in the hands of the Government at Paris was a product of the French Revolution. This M. de l'ocqueville shows to be an error, and points out. in detail, the agencies by which this concentration of power was gradually effected. Paramount among these agencies was the "King's Council," which, of ancient establishment, had imperceptibly assumed, under the good pleasure of the King, the functions of a second providence for the whole of France. This body, it must be admitted, ordinarily acted with modesty, and exhibited less of pretension than it exercised of power, and in this way it possessed, of itself, but little eclat, or, to speak more properly, "was lost in the splendor of the throne with which it was so closely connected." So powerful that its hand reached every thing in France, it was yet at the same time so obscure that it has almost escaped the notice of history.

And if the entire administration of the country was directed by this unique body, the executive discharge of internal affairs was confided to the hands of a single agent, the Controller-General, and what the Controller-General was for all France the Intendent was for each department, who had beneath him, in each canton, a functionary, re-

movable at pleasure, named the Sub-Delegate.

Thus it was that civil life gradually died out in the members of the body politic and became wholly concentrated in the head. Even the guardianship of the public peace was undertaken, throughout the whole State, by the Maré-Chaussée, or mounted police of the Government, which, like the Santa Hermandad of Spain, was dispersed over the whole kingdom in small detachments. "So completely," says M. de Tocqueville, " had the Government already changed its duty as a sovereign into that of a guardian."

"The towns of France at this period could neith "The towns of France at this period could neither establish an octroi on articles of consumption, nor levy a rate, nor mortgage, nor sell, nor sue, nor farm their property, nor administer that property, nor even employ their own surplus revenues, without the intervention of an Order in Council, made on the report of the Intendant. All their public works were executed in conformity to plans and estimates approved by the Council. These works were adjudged to contractors before the Intendant or his Sub-delegates, and were generally entrusted to the engineers or architects of the State. These facts will doubtless excite the surprise of those who supposed that the whole present condition of France is a novelty."

The Governmental machinery of France in the latter days of the ancien régime may therefore be summed up as follows: A peculiar and anomalous body, placed in the centre of the realm and subject to the will of the King, which regulates the public

former no longer monopolized either the land or the intellect of the nation. The Bourgeosie had become a moral power in the State, though its place

the fact that it was an open body; it flowed rather from the undefined extent and unknown limits of that body. English men bore will their aristocracy less because they could obtain admission within its pale, than because they

English men bore with their aristocracy less because they could obtain admission within its pale, than because they never knew when they were within, and could always consider themselves part and parcel of it, could share its authority, and derive *clat* or profit from its power.

"In France, on the contrary, the barrier which separated the nobility from the other classes, though easily surmounted, was always conspicuous and known by outward and odious marks. The parvenu who overstepped it was separated from his former associates by privileges which were onerous and humiliating to them.

"The plan of raising commoners to the nobility, therefore, far from weakening their hatred of the superior class, increased it beyond measure. New nobles were viewed by their old equals with most bitter envy. Hence it was that the Third Estate evinced far more dislike of the new than of the old nobility, and demanded constantly that the entrance to the ranks of the nobility should be not enlarged, but narrowed.

"At no time in our history was it so easy to become a noble as in 1789, and at no time had the nobility and the commonalty been so distinct and separate. Not only did the nobles exclude from their electoral colleges every one who was the least tainted with plebeian blood, but the commoners exhibited equal anxiety to keep out of their ranks all who looked like men of rank. In certain provinces new nobles were rejected by one party because they were not deemed noble enough, by the others because they were too noble. This happened, it is said, to the celebrated Lavoisier.

"The burghers presented a very similar spectacle. They were as widely distinct from the people as the nobles from them.

"Nearly the whole middle class under the old regime

which gave to it such a ghastly complexion and disastrous issue.

Fuedalism in France, as already intimated, had stubbornly refused or blindly neglected to conform itself to the new civilization which was gradually evolving from the disintegrated elements of the mediæval social system. It still claimed to enjoy the rights and immunities with which it had been immemorially invested, and recognised the change of its position in the sphere of the State, only by renouncing or evading the duties which had once reconciled the peasantry to the tutelage of their feudal patrons. The knight had doffed his coat-of-mail and ceased longer to protect the peaceful burgher, but he had not laid aside his fuedal pride, or omitted to demand the exactions for which the peasant received no longer an adequate return. The motto of noblesse oblige had ceased to be descriptive of the French seigneurs.

And this restiveness of the humbler and untitled

ened portion of a people are debarred from combination for public purposes, self-government becomes impossible and tyranny becomes a necessity.

"Turgot, in a secret report to the King, observes sadly: 'The nation is composed of several disunited classes and a divided people; hence no one takes thought for any thing but his own rejected in the weather than the second sec any thing but his own private interest. Public spirit is a thing unknown. Villages and cities have no mutual relations with each other, nor have the counties (arrondissements) in which they are situate. They are even unable to come to an understanding for the repair of the com-mon roads. An incessant warfare is carried on between rival claims and pretensions; the decision is invariably referred to your majesty or your servants. An order from you is required before people will pay taxes, or respect the rights of their neighbors, or even exercise their own.'

"It was no slight task to reunite people who had been strangers to each other or fees for so many centuries. It was very difficult to teach them to come to an understanding for the transaction of their common business Division was a comparatively easy achievement. We have furnished the world with a memorable illustration of the difficulty of the reverse process. When, sixty years ago, the various classes into which French society was divided were suddenly brought together, after a separation of several centuries, their only points of contact were their old sores, they are the results of the several centuries. old sores—they only met to tear each other in pieces. Their rival jealousies and hatreds survive to this day."

In spite of the progress of civilization the condition of the French peasant had become less respectable and less comfortable than it was in the 13th century. Nay, it was the very progress of civiliza-tion which had rendered him more acutely sensible to the exactions and privations to which he was condemned by the presence of the noblesse.

France, moreover, was all the while daily becom ing a country in which the power of the pen was more and more recognised. Men of letters, it is independence. But, again, these neighbors call him from his furrow, and compel him to come to work for them without wages. He tries to defend his young crops from their game; again they prevent him. As he crosses the river they wait for his passage to levy a toll. He finds them at the market, where they sell him the right of selling his own produce; and when, on his return home, he wants to use the remainder of his wheat for his own sustenance—of that wheat which was planted by his hands, and has grown under his eyes—he cannot touch titll he has ground it at the mill and baked it at the bake. usages or institutes of the past, rules of civil duty were placed in contrast with the arbitrary impositions of power; and the origin of this maniere de

"It was not chance which led the phile "It was not chance which led the philosophers of the eighteenth century to advocate principles so opposed to those on which society rested in their day. They were naturally suggested by the spectacle they had before them. They had constantly in view a host of absurd and ridiculous privileges, whose burden increased daily, while their origin was growing more and more indistinct. Hence they were driven toward notions of natural equality. They beheld as many irregular and strange old institutions, all hopelessly jarring together and unsuited to the time, but clinging to life long after their virtue had departed; and they naturally felt disgusted with all that was ancient and traditional, and—each taking his own reason for his guide—they sought to rebuild society on some wholly new plan.

own reason for his guide—they sought to rebuild society on some wholly new plan.

"These writers were naturally tempted to indulge unreservedly in abstract and general theories of government. They had no practical acquaintance with the subject; their ardors were undamped by actual experience; they knew of no existing facts which stood in the way of desirable reforms; they were ignorant of the dangers inseparable from the most necessary revolutions, and dreamed of none. There being no approach toward political liberty, the business of government was not only dreamed of none. There being no approach toward po-litical liberty, the business of government was not only ill understood, it was not understood at all. Having no share in it themselves, and seeing nothing that was done by those who had, these writers lacked the superficial education which the habit of political freedom imparts even to those who take no part in politics. They were hence bolder in their projects of innovation, fonder of theory and system, more prone to despise the teachings of antiquity and to rely on individual reason than is usu-ally the case with speculative writers on politics.

ally the case with speculative writers on politics.
"Ignorance of the same kind insured their success among the masses. If the French people had still participated in the government by means of States-General, if they had still taken part in the administration of the public business in Provincial Assemblies, it is certain that they would have received the lucubrations of these au-

they would have received the incubrations of these authors with more coolness—their business habits would have set them on their guard against pure theory.

"Had they seen a possibility of changing the spirit without wholly destroying the form of their eld institutions, as the English did, they might have been reluctant to adventure upon absolute novelties; but there was not a man whose fortune, or whose comfort, or whose person, or whose pride was not daily interfered with by some old law, or old institution, or old decayed authority, and each particular grievance seemed altogether incur short of the total destruction of the constitution of

"We had, however, saved one right from the general wreck—that was the right of philosophising freely on the origin of society, on the natural principles of government, and the primitive rights of man.

"A rage for this political literature seized all who were inconvenienced by the legislation of the day, including many who were naturally but little prone to indulge in abstract speculations. Tax-payers, wronged by the unjust distribution of the taille, warmed over the principle of the natural equality of man. Farmers, whose harvests were spoiled by rabbits kept by their noble neighbors, rejoiced to hear that reason repudiated all privileges without exception. Popular passions thus disguised themselves in a philosophic garb; political aspirations were forcibly driven into a literary channel, and men of letters, taking the direction of public opinion, temporarily eccupied the position which in free countries belongs to party leaders.

"Nor could their claim to that place be disputed. A vigorous aristocracy will not only conduct public busi-

"Nor could their claim to that place be disputed. A vigorous aristocracy will not only conduct public business, but will make public opinion, and give the keynote to authors, and authority to principles; but these prerogatives had passed away from the French nobility long before the eighteenth century; they had lost power and credit together. The place they had occupied in the public mind was vacant, and no one could gainsay the authors for seizing upon it.

"The aristocracy rather favored than impeded their usurpation. Forgetting that established theories, sooner or later, inevitably become political passions, and find expression in acts, they made no objection to the discussion of doctrines that were wholly subversive of their private rights, and even of their existence. They considered them ingenious exercises for the mind, amused themselves by taking part in them, and peacefully enjoyed their immunities and privileges, while they serenely discoursed on the absurdity of all existing customs." To such an extent was this philosophic insou-

cience pushed that the nobles and the rulers of the State talked aloud in the presence of the people, as though the people themselves were deaf and dumb. It was common for the upper classes to discuss, philosophically of course, the cruel injustice and philosophically of course, the cruel injustice and unreasonableness of class distinctions. It was common for civil officers to expose and lament, in pubing the pusilianimity of men by the degree of their submission to the sovereign authority. Submissive as were the men of the old régime to the will of the King, there was a species of obedience to which they were strangers. They did not know what it was to crook the knee before illegitimate or disputed power, which is but little honored, is often despised, but which is submitted to reluntatively through hope of reward or fear of injury. This degrading form of servitude was ever unknown to them. The King inspired in their breasts such feelings as no absolute monarch of later times has ever been able to

from the personal history of that day in France, it was to imitate the contemptuous license of Madame Duchâtelet, in whom, according to the well-known story of that philosophical and Voltarian dame, the

"When the King endeavored to abolish corvers thir teen years before the Revolution he stated in the pream-ble of the ordinance, 'With the exception of a few pro-vinces, (pays d'états,) nearly all the roads of the king-dom have been made gratuitously by the poorest portion of our subjects. The whole burden has fallen upon those of our subjects. The whole burden has fallen upon those who have no property but their labor, and whose interest in the roads is very slender; the land-owners, who are really interested in the matter—for their property increases in value in proportion to the improvement in the roads—are privileged exempts. By compelling the poor to keep the roads in repair, to give their time and their labor for nothing, we have deprived them of their only safeguard against poverty and hunger, in order to make them toil for the benefit of the rich."

"When an effort was made at the correction to real

make them toil for the benefit of the rich."

"When an effort was made, at the same time, to remove the restraints which the system of industrial corporations imposed on workmen, it was proclaimed in the King's name that 'the right to labor is the most sacred of all properties; that any law which infringes that right is essentially null and void, as being inconsistent with natural right; that the existing corporations are, moreover, abnormal and tyrannical institutions, the product of selfishness cupidity, and violence." Such expressions of selfishness, cupidity, and violence.' Such expressions were perilous indeed; but it was more dangerous still to utter them in vain. A few months later corporations and

It was thus that the Government aided in exciting a spirit of revolt, even when it sought to intro-duce ameliorations and reforms into the public administration. And it must be acknowledged, besides, that the Kings who immediately preceded the Revolution were themselves the first to set the example of disrespect and disregard for established institutions. Louis XV. shook the monarchy as much by his innovations as by his vices; as much by his energy as by his effeminacy. When the people saw that ancient Parliament abolished which had been almost contemporary with royalty in France, they began vaguely to presage the dawn of an era in which naught that was ancient should be deemed respectable, and naught that was new be ing of "reforms" to be introduced, while many of nition in the community. And so, while the form of government remained nominally the same in France, the greater part of those secondary laws or abolished under a system of political change, countenanced by royalty itself. The Monarchy it was which taught the Revolutionists a part of their rash political philosophy. The latter only enlarged upon the example of the former.

Such are some of the leading facts from which the great Revolution spontaneously sprang in 1789, and such is a condensed outline of the very valuable researches of M. de Tocqueville in this domain of history_researches which, while they have the charm in part, of a new discovery, bear also the self-witness ing seal of truth. In the present work he conducts us only to the threshold of the Revolution, reserving for another occasion the consideration of the Revolution in itself, which will prepare the way for pro-

by the light of the ages which preceded it. Without a clear view of society in the olden time, of its laws, its faults, its prejudices, its suffering, its greatness, it is impossible to understand the conduct of the French during the sixty years which have followed its fall; and even that view will not suffice without some acquaintance with the natural history of our nation.

"When I examine that nation in itself, I can not help thinking it is more extraordinary than any of the events of its history. Did there ever appear on the earth another nation so fertile in contrasts, so extreme in its actsmore under the dominion of feeling, less ruled by principle: always better or worse than was anticipated; now

ple; always better or worse than was anticipated; now below the level of humanity, now far above; a people so unchangeable in its leading features that it may be recogunchangeable in its leading features that it may be recognised by portraits drawn two or three thousand years ago, and yet so fickle in its daily opinions and tastes that it becomes at last a mystery to itself, and is as much astonished as strangers at the sight of what it has done; naturally fond of home and routine, yet, once driven forth and forced to adopt new customs, ready to carry principles to any lengths and to dare any thing; indocile by disposition, but better pleased with the arbitrary and even violent rule of a sovereign than with a free and regular government under its chief citizens; now fixed in hostility to subjection of any kind, now so passionately wedded to servitude that nations made to serve cannot vie with it; led by a thread so long as no word of resistance is spoken, wholly ungovernable when the standard ance is spoken, wholly ungovernable when the standard of revolt has been raised—thus always deceiving its masters, who fear it too much or too little; never so free that it cannot be subjugated, nor so kept down that it cannot break the yoke; qualified for every pursuit, but excelling in nothing but war; more prone to worship chance, force, success, eclat, noise, than real glory; endowed with more heroism than virtue, more genium than common sense; better adapted for the conception of grand designs than the accomplishment of great enterprises; the most brilliant and the most dangerous nation of Europe, and the one that is surest to inspire admiration, hattered terror or pits but proportion differences.

tred, terror, or pity, but never indifference?
"No nation but such a one as this could give birth to revolution so sudden, so radical, so impetuous in its course, and yet so full of missteps, contradictory facts, and conflicting examples. The French could not have done it but for the reasons I have alleged; but, it must be admitted, even these reasons would not suffice to explain such a revolution in any country but France."

· UNITED STATES MAIL.

Post Office Department, Sept. 30, 1857.

PROPOSALS for carrying the mails of the United States from 1st December, 1857, to 30th June, 1859, on the following routes in the State of Florida, and in the manner herein specified, will be received at the Contract Office of the Post Office Department, in the city of Washington, until 5 P. M. of the 15th November, 1857, to be decided on the fol-

6875 From Prescott's Store, (on the line of the Florida rail-road,) by Fort Harlee, Gainesville, and Micano-py, to Ocala and back, three times a week, in four-horse coaches.

four-horse coaches. Bidders will state the distance, name other intern offices, if any, and propose a schedule of departures and arrivals, making close connexions with the railroad.

Prescott's Store, (on the line of the Florida railroad,) by New River and St. Louis, to Newnansville, 35 miles and back, three times a week, in four horse conduct

in four-horse coaches.

Bidders will propose a schedule of departures and arrivals, making close connexions with the railroad.

From Prescott's Store (on the line of the Florida railroad) to Middleburg, 13 miles and back, twice a

week, in two-horse coach.

Bidders will propose a schedule of departures and arrivals, making close connexions with the railroad. For forms of proposal, guarantee, and cert ficate; also, instructions and requirements to be embraced in the contracts, see advertisement of January 12, 1855, in pamphlet form, at the principal post offices.

A. V. BROWN, oct 5—law4w

Postmaster General.

LAW SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY At Cambridge, Mass.
The Instructors in this School are— Hon. Joel Parker, LL.D., Royall Professor. Hon. Theophilus Parsons, LL.D., Dane Profess Hon. Emory Washburn, LL.D., University Profe

THE course of instruction embraces the various branches of the Common Law; and of Equity; Admiralty; Commercial, International, and Constitutional Law; and the Jurisprudence of the United States. The Law Library con-Jurisprudence of the United States. The Law Library consists of about 14,000 volumes, and as new works appear they are added, and every effort is made to render it complete.

Instruction is given by oral lectures and expositions, (and by recitations and examinations in connexion with them,) of which there are ten every week. Two moot courts are also holden in each week, at each of which a cause, previously given out, is argued by four students, and an opinion delivered by the presiding Instructor. Booms and other facilities are also provided for the club courts, and an assembly is held weekly for practice in debate and acquiring a knowledge of parliamentary law and proceedings.

Students may enter the School in any stage of their professional studies or mercantile pursuits, and at the commence-

Students may enter the School in any stage of their professional studies or mercantile pursuits, and at the commencement of either term or in the middle or other part of a term. They are at liberty to elect what studies they will pursue, according to their view of their own wants and attainments. The academical year, which commences on Thursday, six weeks after the third Wednesday in July, is divided into two terms of twenty weeks each, with a vacation of six weeks at the end of each term.

During the winter vacation the Library is opened, warmed, and lighted for the use of the members of the School.

Arrangements are in progress which it is hoped will make

able body of the native army of Madras, both cav-alry and infantry, and a company of native artillery with native drivers, have been embarked at Madras for service in Bengal. The loyalty of the Madras army is therefore about to be put to a severe test—

a test to which it appears it was not thought pru-

Presidency. It is a significant fact that no Bom bay troops have yet been employed out of that Pre

sidency. There is a general opinion that the Madras army will stand the test; it is very differently

composed from those of Bengal or Bombay. In the year 1852 the Bengal infantry consisted of

83.946 men: of these 12.700 were Mahometans

26,986 Brahmins, and 27,340 Rajpoots. In the

Bombay infantry in the same year of 25,938 mer

1,920 were Mahometans, 6,928 Brahmins and Raj-

poots, and 8,037 Mahrattas. In the Madras infantry in the same year of 44,191 men, there were only 2,037 Brahmins and Rajpoots, and 452 Mahrattas, and though there were 15,790 Mahometans,

these were mixed up with 21.382 Gentoos of dif-

ferent low castes. Thus it is evident that the Ben-

gal and Bombay active armies have a much larger

proportion of the least loyal castes or races than the Madras army. Much more depends upon the success of this experiment and the loyalty of the Ma-

dras army than even the suppression of the present mutiny; if the impression, now very prevalent, be correct that England can never more hold India by

the exclusive agency of European troops. If na-

tive soldiers are to be employed in great numbers, where are they to be found? If the Madras army continue loyal, it alone will be the nucleus of the

new army, to be recruited from trustworthy sources.

Ghoorkas, Sikhs, Beels, Jats, &c. Insurrection is

The Univers continues to indulge itself in a va

riety of freaks with the map of Europe, and, after bestowing Morocco on Spain and Tunis and Tripo-

still spreading eastward through Bengal.

li on France, sweeps heretical England

"France," it says, "did not perish after a Canada, and she has gained Algeria. Spain fo world and remained a nation. Europe will bles

for having planted Catholic society in Mexico, and w

soon see her engaged in other works; for Morocco will be Spanish, as Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli will be

French. Who can say that the day will not dawn—and every Frenchman ought to desire it—when France, the elder sister of Catholic nations, queen of the Mediterra-

nation would participate in this great work of genuine conquest, and England would cut a very pitiful figure even compared with Portugal. God permits nations to repent; but, if England does not repent her heresy, we see no better fate in store for her than general con-

The Emperor of Russia is now at Berlin. The

series of speculations arising out of the approaching interview of Napoleon and Alexander is not yet exhausted. The Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian says that the people of Paris

believe that at the conference a sort of remo

delling the map of Europe will be decided upon

We are quite prepared to see some very important developments arise out of the Stutgardt conference. In fact we do not think that the face of Europe has

various nations within her boundaries been so indic-

ative of change for a long time as they are at

present. It is reported in Paris that the diminu-

tion of standing armies will be one of the principal

. Calcutta papers to the 8th of August have been received, and they exhibit rather a more cheering

view of the affairs of India than was deduced from

the telegraphic despatches received at the end of

last week. It appears that General HAVELOCK's

retreat was temporary, and that having left his sick and wounded at Cawnpore, and received reinforce-

subjects of discussion between the two Emperors at

their meeting.

looked so portentous, and the circumstances of

dent to subject the native troops of the Bo

Lord Brougham has been making an excellen speech at Manchester upon his favorite subject, "the diffusion of useful knowledge." His lordship is still the Henry Brougham of old. Long connexoccurred to that high and aristocratic lady that lackeys could possibly be men. And thus it came to pass that the very attempts which the Government sometimes honestly made to relieve the people became provocatives to rebellion. Take, as a single illustration, the following sample of a Government aper and proclamation:

If England can justly boast of her educational progress she must also admit "great facts" to qualify that boasting. Mormonism in England is a "great fact." We take the following from a provincial weekly paper:

"In spite of the absurdity, and falsehood, and not "In spite of the absurdity, and falsehood, and not a little depravity, by which it is overlaid; in spite of every thing that faith, reason, and sentiment can say against it, Mormonism is making more way at present, winning more proselytes than any sect in existence. Opposition to it appears only to add to its strange power. Routed and driven from one spot of the earth, and apparently overthrown, it reappears with multiplied resources at another. The prospect of persecution serves to draw to it new votaries. Notwithstanding the known determi-nation of the United States Government to break up its stronghold at the Great Salt Lake, a steady tide of emigration sets towards the doomed city. On Sunday and Monday evenings last week meetings were held in London, at which the Mormon doctrines were elucidated with illustrations so senseless, ludicrous, and disgusting that if they had not been addressed to the very lowest that if they had not been addressed to the very lowest class of intelligences the proceedings would have been enough to give a deathblow to Mormonism. But not the faintest expression of dissent was raised, and we should not feel surprised to hear that many converts were made on the spot at both meetings. A melancholy conclusion is deducible from these successes of Mormonism: it is, that immense numbers of our population are so little able to take care of themselves that they wander even to-certain destruction, spiritual and temporal; destruction of mind, body, and goods, in the doomed city of Utah."

The "British Association," which may be justly egarded as the British Parliament of Science, has ust closed its annual session, which was this year held at Dublin. This institution is entitled to great respect; there may be a little trifling here and there, and occasionally a little vanity exhibited, but mean, and seated on the Alps and the ocean, shall resummuch real substantial good has been done by these her old motto, and, for the love of Christ, the liberato

meetings.

Professor Archer, in his report on the imports of Liverpool, presented to the British Institution at its late meeting, proved that patterns of the professor archer of the British Institution at its late meeting, proved that patterns of the professor archer of the British Institution at its late meeting, proved that patterns of the professor archer of the breaton of the British Institution at its late meeting. considered imprudent. And so, too, Louis XVI, its late meeting, proves that natural science has alduring the period of his rule, was constantly talk- ready been too much neglected at Liverpool. He states "that natural substances of the greatest inthe changes that were actually inaugurated in the trinsic mercantile value are almost daily brought name of reform served little more than rudely to into Liverpool, cast aside, and lost to science and interrupt ancient and respected usages, or do vio-lence to rights of long establishment and recog-lence to rights of long establishment and recog-kers, who, if they are without special information as to their commercial value, having none of their own, reject these articles as useless, and in all probability they are never heard of again." This fact which regulate the condition of persons and the ad-ministration of affairs had been gradually modified British Institution does not labor in vain. These British Institution does not labor in vain. These are days when no nation, especially England, can afford to lose the rich treasures which commerce brings from foreign lands. Had gutta-percha been thus thrown aside, how could the submarine electric telegraph have been constructed? Manchester cries aloud for more cotton: is cotton the only tex-tile material to be gathered from the vegetable world? The paper-makers also want materials, and many new ones have been introduced from the tropics, but they have been found too valuable to make paper of, and have gone to supply the insatiable requirements of the loom. Mr. G. EMMERson expressed a wish before the association that some most important remarks made by Dr. Lan-KESTER, on the annual loss occasioned to the counnouncing at a later day a formal and final judgment on the society which has sprung from its bosom. of a letter and circulated in the United States as We quote, in conclusion, the final paragraphs of this well as in England, as he was sure that great an-"The Revolution will ever remain in darkness to those the elements of natural science. A very curious the trical phenomena of the United States, especially that portion of it in which he referred to the startphenomena produced in the houses of New York in the winter season, when they are heated by

open the Finnish frontier to industrial activity.

an active and vigorous mind, and to be well quali-fied to combat the intrigues of the German Powers,

stands in fearful proximity to the Danish throne. Probably nothing but the union of Denmark with

Norway and Sweden can prevent that kingdom fall-

the restoration of it as an independent member of

the Germanic Confederation; for it is through this

Duchy that Russia derives her pretensions to the Crown of Denmark. The Holsteiners hate the

Danes and the Danes hate the Russians; but, by

insisting upon an unnatural and ungenerous su-

premacy, Denmark sacrifices her own future rights

and may bind herself in dynastic fetters which.

when too late, she will learn to abhor. Austria and Prussia, for once, are found defending the true

policy of Europe. Separate Holstein from Denmark, and the Czars forfeit their artificial claim.

In due course the throne will become vacant,

nual loss was the result of a want of knowledge of towards Lucknow, expecting to reach that city on GIN is now the fruitful source of conjecture, and the most contradictory reports are in circulation respecting his future position and employment. The Paris Pays says that he is about to be appointed Sork in the winter season, when they are heated by stoves to such a degree that the wood becomes excessively dry, all the furniture shrinks and cracks, and the electricity is so abundant that you have only to shuffle across the floor of a room covered with a tolerably thick woollen carpet to convert your body into an electrophorus or electrical man intention to consult with Lord Canning respectyour body into an electrophorus or electrical maing the practicability of the following plan. It is chine, so that you cannot touch a piece of metal well known (at least it is now asserted) that many of the Bengal regiments were disarmed, not because without experiencing a sharp shock of electricity.

But we must turn from the fair fields of nature they had shown decided symptoms of mutiny, but and science to that which, we fear, is at present enas a precautionary measure. It is now thought grossing the attention of a great majority of manthat if these regiments were removed from the in-fluence of evil example they would be found, as heretofore, stanch and loyal. Lord Elgin has therefore, on his own responsibility, after consult-ing with General ASHBURNHAM, offered to Lord kind-the fields of political strife and deadly warfare. And first we would observe that if there be one quarter of Europe which more than another is liable to war at this time it is the great Baltic ter-ritory, which is divided into two independent but Canning for service in India some of the Eurosecondary kingdoms—Sweden and Denmark. These are separately States of inferior rank, not very corean regiments in China, in exchange for native Bengal troops; reasoning, correctly we think, that the disarmed Sepoys will be best kept out of mis-chief by giving them military service. It is said dial in their feelings towards each other, and both disturbed by the claims of Russia. For a considerable time the Scandinavian populations have been that at least a dozen disarmed Sepoy regiments will be forthwith sent to China, and all additional fostering an idea which, if successfully developed, would open the vast water-way of the Baltic to comsupplies of British soldiers intended for China will merce and shut out the Russians from the avenues countermanded to India. It is certain that of the German Ocean; we mean the consolidation 10,000 additional troops will be dispatched from Engof Sweden, Norway, and Denmark under one Government. They are inhabited by races of one blood and generally of one faith—the Puritans of the continent. This union would create a Lutheran nation of six millions of souls, with an army of 215,000 men and a navy numbering 15 sail of the line, 14 frigates, and 420 smaller armed vessels—

will, of course, be estimated more by its so scess than by any a priori prudence or judgment which it may exhibit. It may be only a prominent rumor of the hour, but it is exciting much comment and obtains general belief this evening. will, of course, be estimated more by its success liberal State, identified in feelings and interests. It excites considerable surprise that whilst the Moslem soldiery in British India should be acting and to a certain extent in race, with Great Britain, a counterpoise to Germany and Russia, and a cenas though nothing less than the extirpation of the tre of action for all the aspiring nationalities of the

Christians in that country would satisfy their continent. Public opinion in this country will, we believe, warmly approve of the project when it has been sufficiently explained; since it would greatly been sufficiently explained; since it would greatly for instance, the Shah of Persia has lately placed. been sufficiently explained; since it would greatly extend the northern trade of England, secure this country from the naval advances of Russia, and lay level. And now we are told that the Bey of Tunis open the Finnish frontier to industrial activity.

There is a special reason at present for referring to upon the most liberal religious and political printhis magnificent plan of national organization, and

Sweden. His physicians speak against all chance of his recovery; and the probability is that, according to the provision of the Swedish Constitution, the Crown Prince of Sweden at 1985.

Combinations among the workmen at Ghent and other cities in Belgium have come to light, and in the former city the civic guard has been ordered to be in readiness to take ing to the provision of the Swedish Constitution, the Crown Prince of Sweden, at present Viceroy of Norway, will be before long raised to the position of Regent of Sweden. This prince is highly popular in Sweden, and deeply and warmly interested in the union of the Scandinavian States and friendly to reform and progress. He is held to possess

of Regent of Sweden. This prince is highly popular in Sweden, and deeply and warmly interested in the union of the Scandinavian States and friendly to reform and progress. He is held to possess St. Helena medal. The last week's statement of the Bank of E'as land shows a diminution of £272,800 in the specie and to aid in saving the Danish throne from the and bullion. The drain of bullion to the Ea st and ever, already upon the sceptre of Denmark. The succession of the reigning family in Denmark is likely to terminate abruptly, and Alexander II. state of affairs in India keep the prices of funded and other securities low and business in the stock exchange almost nominal. There is every prospect that money will find full employment at extreme ing into the position of an appanage to the mighty possessions of the Czar. A preliminary step to this end is the abandoning all claim to the Duchy of Holstein as part of the kingdom of Denmark, and rates of interest for some weeks to come. Financial advices are, however, more favorable from the Continent, and there has been for some days more inquiry for American securities, although perhans without any very quotable advance in prices. little really important good news from India would

operate marvellously upon the money market.

We are glad to find that the final winding up of the accounts of the Great Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace prove that splendid affair to have been a profitable speculation—the nett profit being £9,000, besides a considerable amount of property available for future occasions. Of this the Crystal Palace takes £6,000, the Sacred Harmonic Society £1,000, and the remaining £2,000 is invested as a guarantee fund for the Handel Centenary Festival

In due course the throne will become vacant, and then will arise the opportunity of erecting a powerful Scandinavian State, by uniting the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish kingdoms. This question is one of the most important that can be submitted to the public opinion of England, and morning. The French papers find their principal subject of discussion in the Indian outbreak; and the French Government and people, and perhaps the may, at any moment, become an object of European negotiation. The future history of the world perhaps hinges upon it, and its correct settlement concerns the future well-being of all civilized named to discussion in the Indian outbreak; and the French Government and people, and perhaps the whole of the press, with the exception of the Univers and its little clique, sympathize with this country, and speak of the wonders it is working in sending troops tions.

We hear by letters from Bombay that an experiment is being tried in India, the result of which is

speak of the wonders it is working in sending troops and munitions of war to the East. Some of the friendly journals, however, now think that the British power is seriously compromised in India.